1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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All traditions of the seclusion of children rest on an authentic custom, the memory of which has not been entirely lost. Both De Langle (130, vol. 1, p. 81) and members of Gonzalez' expedition (90, p. 40) mention having seen huts where children were apparently secluded, guarded by adults.

FEAST HOUSE

A large house (*hare nui*) was built before a feast (*koro*) where young people gathered to play and sing. They lived in more or less promiscuity, and tradition says that they had many opportunities to make love and to have sexual intercourse. Foundations were laid for many marriages during the feast, but as evidenced by numerous tales, the feast houses were not for the young people only but for all invited guests. Routledge was told that the young people who shared in the dances had to be "white" (*ritorito*) which in Easter Island is almost synonymous with "fine." Routledge (194, p. 235) writes: "In connection with some or all of the *kaunga* (dancing grounds) there was a house where the party remained indoors for a long time previous to the dances, in order 'to get their complexions,' a touch which shows that a white skin was admired." In traditional records of *koro* some confusion may have arisen between the seclusion before the feast and the actual *koro*.

INITIATION RITES

When the children between the ages of 13 and 15 years were submitted to seclusion, rites were celebrated which had perhaps the character of a consecration. Little is known about these ceremonies, and their significance is obscure. The boys and girls who went through the ceremonies were termed *poki take* and *poki manu* (bird children). Routledge (194, p. 266) was told that the *take* ceremonies were dropped about 30 years before the arrival of the missionaries and that no living person had attended such a ceremony. The oldest man in the village when Routledge was there stated that the *take* ceremony was intended for adults and that the father performed the rites when the son was born. My information was obtained from Viriamo through Tepano. She said that boys and girls were sent to Motu-nui when they were 13 years of age. They sojourned on the island for three months, living in separate caves. Food was taken to them in canoes, and ornaments (*tahonga*, wooden balls) and special breechcloths of tapa called *hami mama* were sent them by their parents. The children were given red and white ocher (*kiea* and *marikuru*) for the painting of their bodies. White bands were painted around the arms and feet, concentric white circles on the back at the level of the waist, and two white rings on the buttocks.

The ceremony following seclusion was called *te manu mo ta poki* (the bird for the child). I could discover no better explanation of this feast and its benefit than that given by Routledge, which is vague and probably incor-

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881 rect: ". . . a child whose parents had not performed the ceremony, and whose love affairs, for instance, went wrong, might even kill his father in revenge for the omission." The boy had his head shaved, and he presented an egg to a man called *tangata tapu manu*, who was told the child's name, in order to insert it in the ritual. Each boy went to Orongo in company with a *tangata tapu manu*. A man who had been a *poki manu* (child for whom the ceremony had been performed) told Routledge that when he went to Orongo with nine other children, they had taken ten chickens with them. Routledge writes (194, p. 267):

> The party danced in front of all the houses, went to the carved rocks at the end, and, coming back, stood in a semicircle in front of the door of Taura-renga, the house of the statue, the experts being behind and all singing; no offering was made to the images. Another authority stated that the parents and children went on the roof of the house, the experts being below, and the parents gave chickens to the men. Jotefa's party returned to their home, had a feast, and gave more food to the professionals. The *tangata-tapu-manu* subsequently repeated the ritual at any *koro* which were being held on the island, the object apparently being to make public the child's initiation.

881 Quite different was the ceremony for girls. After they had dressed and
831 decorated themselves as well as they could, they went to Orongo where their parents awaited them. There they were entrusted to five men called *mata-ngarahu* (eye-paint). Each girl stood up on a rock called Papa-rona, with legs spread open, and two men below examined her vulva. If it was small (*teketeke*), they announced the fact in a loud voice. Then they carved the rock with an image of the vulva. This tradition is probably an attempt to explain the various representations of the vulva carved on a rock at Orongo.

881 More nearly correct is the reference to a special feast celebrated for the girl, who gave chickens to her brothers and cousins. At the ceremonies some reverence was paid to the image Taura-renga in Orongo. Viriamo explained to Routledge (194, p. 267) that she was a *poki manu* and was taken with her three sisters to the ahu Orohie. Both parents went and " . . . the mother took two chickens, one in each hand, and the mother and children stood upright and the 'maori sang'; they did not go to Orongo because there was war."

PUBERTY

146 According to Dr. Drapkin, puberty begins for girls at the age of 10 and
864 is completed at 12. The critical age for boys is between 12 and 14. However, the sexual life of children begins long before they have reached puberty; at 6 or 7 years they indulge in sexual contacts, which are taken as a matter of course. They try to imitate what they have seen among the older children or adults. Sexual instincts develop rapidly and quite unrestrainedly. Girls
836 and boys under 10 years of age have sexual intercourse, and many girls of about that age have been violated by grown men. Very young girls often

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try to prostitute themselves to foreign visitors, and their playmates act as go-betweens.

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Roussel (190, p. 429) speaks with disparagement of the "shameful laziness" of Easter Island girls until they were married. Probably here, as in Mangareva, young people of both sexes lived an easy life until they had to support a family. In the seclusion houses they probably spent their days lying on the ground, composing songs, telling stories, discussing their dreams. Some young men engaged themselves as workmen for a salary consisting of one or two rats and a few sweet potatoes. Others helped the adults to till and plant, but they did not accompany them on fishing parties—probably because they were afraid of spoiling their complexions through exposure to the sun (190, p. 10).

ADOPTION

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Adoption of children has always been widely practiced on Easter Island. Nothing expresses more strikingly the strength of the old custom than the fact that my informant, Victoria Rapahango, who lived many years with an Englishman and bore him several children, gave one of them to an old Italian with whom she was on friendly terms. It is not known to which relatives or friends the children were given formerly; now they are generally entrusted to the godparents. If the child's new parents can feed him, he is given to them a few days after birth; otherwise, he is given after weaning. The adoptive parents treat the child as if he were their own. Roussel (190, p. 466) observes that " . . . the adopted children were put on the same rank as the legitimate. They were entitled to the same care and the same attentions." This attitude continues today.

The child takes the name of his adoptive parents and inherits from them. Much difficulty has arisen in tracing genealogies because adoptive parents will not permit a distinction to be made between their own and adoptive children. "I have raised him and consequently he is my son" is a statement frequently heard on Easter Island. The blood parents take no interest in the children they have given away; they see them rarely and lavish no particular tenderness upon them.

Sexual License

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The accounts of early travelers indicate that the first reaction of the natives on the arrival of a ship was to barter food and women. By the first half of the nineteenth century Easter Islanders seem to have built up a regular trade with their women (p. 36). However, the small number of women seen by the navigators makes it evident, as Cook suggests, that most of the feminine population had been hidden somewhere (p. 20). Probably fear was one of the main causes for these precautions, but we may assume that the same sexual freedom was not permitted to all women. Those who were allowed and even

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548 554 562 urged to prostitute themselves were probably unmarried girls or women belonging to a lower class. Wives of chiefs, priests, or jealous men were probably obliged to remain hidden while visitors stayed on the island.

548 562 837 There has been little change in Easter Island morals. Every foreigner who comes ashore is the object of the most provocative offers on the part of the women, assisted by the men. Prostitution is considered a great source of profit by both sexes and is practiced not only with foreigners but among the natives themselves. An elderly man may have sexual intercourse with girls of 12 or 13 years whom he pays for it. Some women who are no longer attractive take as lovers very young boys to whom they give presents or make an offer to reveal the secrets of sexual life.

831 834 [431] Despite the intense religious feeling of the islanders and the efforts of the catechist, sexual life is extremely free, usually with no restrictions whatever. Apparently love intrigues are short and devoid of sentimental background. Unions between young people are temporary and little jealousy, if any, is shown. Handsome young men who are good dancers are evidently favorites of the women. Gifts play an important part in love affairs.

● 936 Missionaries allude to the great "immorality" of the natives and complain that the pagan feasts, especially those that lasted a long time, were occasions for great license (230, vol. 6, p. 122). Geiseler (87, p. 29) writes:

> There are many cases of young girls remaining unmarried and belonging to the community, and they were highly valued . . . Even girls betrothed in childhood were to the moment they went to live with their husbands entirely free and might dispose of their persons without provoking scandal. In many instances girls had at least five permanent lovers. With the scarcity of women and the great number of men obliged to remain bachelors, such a condition is easily understood.

838 Pederasty does not appear among adults and no instance of such sexual aberration has been referred to by any inquirer. On the other hand, abnormal sex relationships between women is tolerated and accepted. Such relationships are between middle-aged women who are unattractive to men, and young women whom they have seduced. No other sex abnormalities have been reported.

Marriage

Marriage Laws

582 [835] When asked about marriage restrictions, the islanders would say only that *taina* (cousins) may not marry unless they are *taina haihai* (remote cousins). Relationship between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law was considered incestuous. Degrees of relationship permissible in marriage have been accurately established by Routledge (228, vol. 2, pp. 144-145):

> Brother and sister were two degrees apart, first cousins were four degrees, second cousins six degrees, and third cousins eight degrees, a method, I may point out, evidently based upon counting from one of the related persons up to the common ancestor, and then

2:Fordon A-5 (1956) 1957
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scribed by Jorge as follows: the father is the head (*mayor*) of the family while the first born son is the head of the children, thus the father and the first born son must stand in special relationship to one another and to the total family.

ADOLESCENCE

There are no formal puberty rites existing on the island today, but the period at which a boy is said to become a man is reasonably well fixed in the minds of the people. According to Jorge and Roberto, in earlier days a boy did not become a man, nor did he do a man's work, until he reached the age of twenty, his time being occupied until then in play and fun. Today, however, most native children go to the Chilean-run school from the ages of nine until twelve, after which the boys, at least, are expected to start doing some work. Thus, when Juan Atan's wife became ill and he was unable to come to work, he sent his thirteen year old son to take his place. Although doing a full day's work at a man's job, this youth was consistently referred to as a *poki*, or boy. Some indication of when he would be regarded as a man was presented on the job one day. My workmen caught the boy examining one of the many pictographs at Orongo called *komari*, which stylistically depict a vulva. The men immediately began to joke him terrifically, and during the joking Jorge turned to me and remarked, "He will be ready for that in another two years." From this, it would appear that fifteen years of age may be taken as the approximate age for a young man to enter into mature sex relations and, in general, become a man.

Further evidence along this line was brought forward during a discussion of who could, or could not, vote in the election of the three natives who stand as representatives of the people before the governor of the island. Among the natives there was no fixed age at which a person could vote, the consistent theme being that one could vote when one became a man. Asked if the Atan youth could vote, they informed me that he could not as he was still a *poki*. It was only after considerable questioning and discussion that my workers came to the conclusion that a person of approximately fifteen or sixteen years of age had reached the age of manhood and had the right to vote. An approximately similar age for womanhood appears to hold for girls, as well. At least a search of the government population records showed the earliest age for the marriage of girls was fifteen.

COURTING

Unmarried girls from about fourteen or fifteen onward are given complete sexual freedom which does not begin and end with a possible suitor but is maintained with any passing boy friend. Such relationships are taken quite as casually

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
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836 by the people as a necking party is in the United States. There is seldom, if ever, any secrecy surrounding such momentary love matches, and whereas the girls come [522] in for a certain amount of joking from the older people, it is the boys who bear the greater brunt of the jokes. A term commonly heard in such joking sessions is that of *muy tatani* (very devilish) and it is used to describe the feelings of a young [797] man or woman toward his, or her, partner. Such premarital affairs are regarded as quite normal and natural, in spite of the nominal acceptance of the Catholic [892] faith, and, as my workmen once pointed out, a young man is naturally *muy toro* and must have his girls and stay up late at night. However, when a person reaches the age of about thirty he is described as being only *medio torito*.

848 Should a child be born out of wedlock there is never a curse on mother, child, or father. On Easter Island, as in many parts of the rural world, a large family [842] is looked upon as highly desirable since the children can eventually help with the work. With this concept well entrenched in the culture of the island, a girl bringing a child with her into marriage constitutes an advantageous acquisition.

431 A side light on the problems of courting comes from a statement made by 836 Martin Rapu, one of our foremen. Martin reflected that when he was young and unmarried (he is now twenty-two and was married at twenty) he changed girls often and it was much trouble and quiet costly, for he had to give each new girl [581] presents from time to time. Finally his father advised him to get married, for he, the father, could no longer afford the gifts that Martin needed each time he changed girls. Martin then added that he had found married life a lot calmer and more peaceful than that of his premarital years.

584 When a boy has finally decided upon the girl he wants to marry he may ask for her through her parents in one of two ways. He may go personally to the girl's father or mother and ask for the girl. If he is accepted he returns home immediately and notifies his father of the fact. The father then goes to the house of the girl's parents and the two families give a party to which their respective extended family relatives are invited. Both families join in furnishing liquor and food for the affair, though the boy's father may go through the ceremony of pouring the first [583] round of drinks. At this time there appears to be a small exchange of gifts between the families, apparently no more than a token exchange, for Jorge mentioned that a little money might change hands, but in telling of it he did not seem to regard it as much of anything.

The second method of arranging a marriage is for the youth to tell his father of the girl he wishes to marry. It then becomes the father's duty to go to the house of the girl and, bringing with him a little liquor, ask the father or mother of the girl for permission for his son to marry her. Consent appears to be primarily

3:Drapkin D-5 (1934-1935) 1935
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three generations back show no intermixture with foreign elements. By foreigners I mean not only Europeans and Chileans but Polynesians from other islands—Tuamotuans, Tahitians, and others.

Only 159 Easter Islanders, or 34.86 percent of the total population, can be considered of pure blood. The 297 others, or 65.14 percent of the population, show degrees of intermixture varying but evident. A detailed study of degrees of intermixture shows the following individuals with some foreign blood:

Tahitian	184
German	101
French	77
Tuamotuan	53
Chilean	46
English	31
Chinese	6
American	2
Italian	2
Unknown	12

The 12 whose mixed blood is unknown are natural children whose mothers have no certainty or not complete certainty as to the father. This fact has nothing extraordinary about it when one realizes the great sexual liberty which the native women enjoy.

The proportion of foreign blood varies for each one of these crossings from 1/2 to 1/16, that is to say, we have been able in many cases to search back to the fourth generation.

The exact percentage of foreign blood among 297 Easter Island crossings is clear from the following table:

	Percent
Tahitian blood	39.28
Chilean blood	12.90
Tuamotuan blood	11.49
German blood	11.08
French blood	10.00
English blood	8.47
Unknown blood	4.03
Chinese blood	1.20
American blood	0.60
Italian blood	0.60

If these two tables are set side by side one is struck by the fact that the mixtures with Chilean blood have fifth place in the table